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ONTARIO ELECTIONS, 1883.

PAMPHLET No. 1.

LEGISLATIVE AND TERRITORIAL RIGHTS.

The Government of Ontario has been for eleven years in the hands of the Liberal party. The Liberals attained power after the elections of 1871, under the leadership of Mr. Blake, and on two occasions since they have carried the country with increasing majorities under the leadership of Mr. Mowat.

The elections of 1875 and 1879 gave convincing evidence of the satisfaction of the people with Liberal rule, and recent events indicate that the Government has lost none of its prestige or of its popularity.

The last session of the Parliamentary term now drawing to its close finds Mr. Mowat with a stronger following than the first, or than any former session since 1871.

The bye-elections were one proof of the leader's abiding strength; the great Convention of January was another and a stronger proof. In response to his call, more than six thousand of the best men of the Province gathered together in the capital city to aid him by their counsel, and to strengthen him by a tangible assurance of their respect and confidence.

THE RALLY TO THE PREMIER'S CALL.

"I expected that a goodly number of my brother Liberals would respond to that call," Mr. Mowat himself told them, "but I had no idea that such a magnificent assembly as this which I see before me would be the result. We

have had Conventions before—Conventions that have borne good fruit, Conventions that have been largely attended—but I venture to say that the assembly now before me is as large as all those former Conventions put together.

“I am glad to know that it is also a representative gathering. I see before me men from all parts of the country, and from every portion of its population. They have come from the Ottawa on the east, and from the St. Clair on the west. I see before me men of all nationalities, of all religious denominations, and of all occupations. There are merchants, farmers, mechanics, professional men, workingmen,—old men who have done good work, and young men who are following in their footsteps and will soon take their places.

“We have here Liberals of all classes,—those who did not think with the rest of the party during the Dominion election, but who with regard to matters before us now are of one mind with all Liberals,—and I congratulate you upon the great promise that is before you, as I have no doubt that the result of the Convention will be an important one in the history of the Province.”

THE LIBERAL PLATFORM.

Such a large assembly of representative men could not fail to reflect the sentiments of the Liberal party on subjects of public policy, and with respect to the Government itself. They came from the people, and were of the people. They spoke the voice of the whole party as men having authority,—commissioned by the party to speak its voice on men and affairs.

Upon all Provincial questions of the past eleven years, upon the conduct and the general policy of the Government, and upon issues now agitating the country, this great Convention has placed its opinions on record, crystallized into resolutions that convey no uncertain sound.

The principles embodied in those resolutions are the principles upon which the Liberal party and its representatives in the Legislature are pledged to conduct the business of the State, and to maintain inviolate the rights of self-government to a free people. And therefore it is fitting, when asking the electors of Ontario once again to renew the trust they committed to the Liberals eleven years ago, that the platform of the Convention should have a foremost place.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONVENTION.

FIDELITY TO LIBERAL PRINCIPLES.

1. That this Convention of the Reformers of Ontario recognize with pride and pleasure the fidelity to Liberal principles which has been evinced through a long series of administrative and legislative acts by the Reform Governments and Legislatures of the Province for the past eleven years, and deems it to be the bounden duty of all true Liberals to strengthen to the uttermost the hands of the Hon. Oliver Mowat, our worthy leader, and his colleagues, at this critical period in our Provincial history.

PROVINCIAL RIGHTS.

2. That by the British North America Act the Provincial Legislatures have exclusive powers of legislation on subjects placed by that Act within their jurisdiction; that the power of disallowance by the Federal Government should be exercised only when such legislation is beyond the constitutional jurisdiction of the Province, or antagonistic to Dominion interests; that the Rivers and Streams Act, which dealt with subjects left by the constitution to the exclusive jurisdiction of the Legislature of Ontario, was in no manner illegal, unconstitutional, or antagonistic to Dominion interests; that the repeated disallowance of the Act was, therefore, in the opinion of this Convention, a violation of our Provincial autonomy, and an attack upon the fundamental principle of local self-government provided by the Confederation Act and secured mainly by the earnest, consistent and long-continued efforts of the Reform party; and that the action of our Government and Legislature in asserting and vindicating our Provincial constitutional rights, demands the approval and support of every patriotic citizen.

TERRITORIAL RIGHTS.

3. That this Province came into Confederation with the territory which formerly belonged to Upper Canada; that the extent of that territory on the north and west was at that time undetermined, but was in the month of August, 1878, finally determined by the unanimous award of able arbitrators of the highest distinction, appointed on a competent reference by the respective Governments of the Dominion and this Province under an agreement, to which the good faith and honor of both were pledged, that the award should be final and conclusive; that this award was accepted by the Government of this Province as in honor bound, but was repudiated by the Government of the Dominion; that such repudiation is, in the opinion of this Convention, a violation of public law and national faith, and an indefensible denial on the part of the Federal authorities of the just claims and territorial rights of this Province; and that the manly and persistent assertion by the Government of

Ontario of those claims and those rights, and their demand for the immediate ownership and government of the awarded territory, deserve the support and co-operation not only of the Liberal party, but of every citizen of the Province.

THE FEDERAL UNION.

4. That this Convention earnestly desires that the bonds which unites the Provinces of Canada may be strengthened by the development of a feeling of affection for and pride in the Federal Union which connects them, and believes that such sentiments will be best promoted by the maintenance of the Federal principles of the Union, the full recognition of the rights of each Province to control all matters which are placed under its exclusive power, and the adoption of the principles of justice and fair play in the adjustment of all questions arising between the Dominion and the Provinces.

THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE.

5. That this Convention rejoices in the successful operation of those extensions of the franchise which have from time to time been placed in the statute book, records its opinion that a further extension should form a plank in the platform of the Reform party at the ensuing elections; and expresses its hope that the popular voice will endorse the proposal, and will return a Liberal majority authorized to accomplish this reform.

THE LEGISLATIVE RECORD.

6. That this Convention expresses its gratification that under the auspices of the Reform Government of Ontario, our election laws have been greatly improved; that valuable reforms have been effected in the laws relating to real and personal property; that our municipal and school laws have been much improved; that the Statute Law of the Province has been revised and consolidated; that great and radical reforms in the procedure and practice of our Courts, tending to the promotion of simplicity, economy, and expedition in the administration of justice, have been successfully accomplished; that prompt means have invariably been taken to establish such administration in every outlying district of the Province, contemporaneous with settlement; and that justice has been administered throughout the Province with purity and uprightness.

RAILWAY AND MUNICIPAL AID.

7. That this Convention desires to record its gratification that the Reform Governments and Legislatures triumphantly solved the difficult problems presented by the Municipal Loan Fund and the best means of applying to profitable ends a portion of the surplus in the Treasury; that the municipal loan fund debts were successfully settled upon an equitable basis; that large sums out of the surplus have been returned to the people under conditions requiring their expenditure for objects of great public utility; and that a judicious system of railway aid has given to the Province 2,200 miles of new railway, and in this way greatly assisted the development of our agricultural and commercial industries, and promoted the general advancement of the Province.

THE PROVINCIAL FINANCES.

8. That in the opinion of this Convention the management of the Provincial finances by the Liberal Governments of the Province has evidenced their fidelity to the Reform principles of progress and economy; that whilst these Governments have not hesitated as responsible stewards of the public funds to propose such expenditures as the public good required, they have been careful and provident in their administration; and that it is a proud fact that whilst the ordinary business of administration has been carried on, the education of the people assisted, the vicious and afflicted cared for, burdens lifted off the municipalities, all our industries encouraged, and the progress of the Province in every way and on every side advanced, a large surplus still remains in the Treasury of the Province.

THE AGRICULTURAL INTERESTS.

9. That this Convention recognizes with satisfaction the vigorous, judicious, and timely steps which, under the Reform Governments of Ontario, have been taken to render assistance in the development of our agricultural industry, by the encouragement given to Agricultural, Horticultural, and kindred Associations, by the continued drainage of our low-lying lands, by the initiation of the tile drainage scheme, by the satisfactory adjustment of the vexed question of market fees, by the expansion of the Agricultural College and Experimental Farm, by the invaluable labours of the Agricultural Commission, and by the establishment of the Agricultural branch of the Bureau of Industries; and rejoices to observe that the Government is contemplating other plans for further promoting the agricultural interests of the Province.

COMMERCE AND MANUFACTURES.

10. That this Convention rejoices in all healthy expansion of the manufacturing and mercantile interests of the Province; is pleased to know that within the range of their constitutional powers, the Reform Governments of Ontario have encouraged those industries, by aiding the building of railways, by assisting to give at home and foreign exhibitions the fullest possible display of our manufactured products, and for providing through the Bureau of Industries a faithful record of the state of the manufacturing industries, which cannot fail to be of substantial benefit to such industries, and to the Province at large.

OUR SCHOOL SYSTEM.

11. That the progress and development of every part of our Public and High School system during the past eleven years, in the more thorough training, classification, and examination of teachers, the more efficient inspection and classification of schools, and the complete remodelling and great advance of the work of secondary education, are matters for congratulation; that the complications and difficulties which necessarily surround such a subject are to be met, as they have been met, by vigilantly watching over the working of the system, with a view to such changes in detail as from time to time experi-

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once may show to be necessary; by a due regard to the reasonable wishes and feelings of the various sections of the community; and by the application to the utmost extent, consistent with efficiency, of the principle of local control over local affairs.

FOREST AND TIMBER INTERESTS.

12. That the manner in which the Forest and Timber interests of the Province have been guarded and managed by the Reform Associations and Legislatures, the safeguards thrown around these interests by the provisions which require public competition as the condition of license, the caution, skill, and judgment which have been displayed by the Executive in determining when sales of licenses shall take place, and the care and integrity displayed in the sale and management of our Crown lands, are subjects of just pride to the Liberal party, and of national congratulation to every inhabitant of the Province.

FREE GRANTS AND IMMIGRATION.

13. This Convention, while looking with pleasure on the growth of the Canadian North-West, and recognizing the drain of late years on our population and resources towards that and other fields, yet views with satisfaction the great development of the newer districts of our acknowledged territory during the last eleven years, under the liberal system of free grants from the Crown; and rejoices that, by a judicious expenditure on colonization roads and internal improvements, so many of our sons, together with the people of other countries, have, notwithstanding great attractions elsewhere, found homes within our borders; and trusts that the immigration policy of the Ontario Government will, in the present circumstances, continue to be one of vigorous effort to secure large additions to our agricultural population.

PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.

14. That this Convention views with approval and satisfaction the vigorous and successful manner in which the Reform Governments of Ontario have promptly met every public requirement for the restraint and correction of the vicious, as well as the care of the afflicted and unfortunate portions of our population, by the erection of such buildings as were needed, and by the successful maintenance and management, on the latest curative, sanitary, and humane methods, of our various penal and charitable institutions.

MUNICIPAL INSTITUTIONS.

15. That the Reform party, the parent of the system of local institutions, municipal liberties, and generally of the principles of self-government, reaffirms, after an experience of more than forty years, the value of these institutions, and will in the future, as it has done in the past, guard, cherish, and develop them by all means in its power.

THE LIQUOR LICENSE SYSTEM.

16. That this Convention views with gratitude the great improvements which have, under Reform Governments, been made in the laws affecting tem-

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perance; protests in the strongest way against any of the retrograde changes lately advocated, such as extending the hours of selling, lessening the restrictions in the number of licenses, creating vested interests in licenses, and re-transferring to Municipal Councils the responsibility of issuing licenses; believes that the general interpretation of the Constitution, acted on in all the Provinces ever since Confederation, has been that the Provincial Legislatures have authority in the matter, and that such interpretation is in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution; considers that it is for the best interests of the Dominion that the Local Legislature should have such authority; deprecates any assumption of power by the Parliament of the Dominion in this regard, beyond what may be needed for passing a general law as to prohibition; declares that the Local Legislatures can best interpret and give effect to the feelings and wishes of the people in each Province as to the license system; and insists that action by the Parliament of the Dominion would be an undue interference with Provincial rights, and detrimental to the cause of order and sobriety.

THE RECORD AND THE PLATFORM.

17. That the principles of local control over local affairs; of parliamentary independence and purity of elections; of legislative and administrative reform as required by the development and progress of the Province; of the wise and discriminating extension of the franchise; of the judicious encouragement by the State of all our agricultural, mercantile, and manufacturing industries; of the speedy settlement of our unoccupied territory by free grants of homesteads to actual settlers, and the active encouragement of proper immigration; of public competition for public property and public works; of Provincial care of the afflicted and unfortunate portions of the population; of a free primary education for the whole people and the reasonable encouragement of higher education; of the maintenance in their integrity of our municipal institutions; of economy and retrenchment in our financial affairs consistent with the promotion of progress and the development of all the resources of the Province, and the encouragement by every legitimate means of all moral and social reforms, are principles which the Liberal party have always maintained; and so long as the Reform Governments of Ontario in the future, as in the past, uphold and carry out those principles, they shall receive the hearty and united support of the Liberal party in this Province.

SELF-GOVERNMENT.

In the Convention of 1844 the question of self-government took precedence of all others. By Hon. Robert Baldwin, William Hume Blake, R. B. Sullivan, Skeffington Connor, George Brown, Joseph C. Morrison, and other distinguished men who took part in the proceedings of that memorable assembly of Liberals, it was held to be the sum and substance of constitutional government.

Mr. Baldwin, who presided as chairman of the Convention, was most emphatic in the expression of his views. "We demand," he said, "the practical application of the principles of the constitution of our beloved Mother Country to the administration of *all our local affairs*. Not one hair's breadth farther do we go, or desire to go; but not with one hair's breadth short of that will we be ever satisfied." His quotations from Lord Durham's Report—the great text-book of British Colonial Rights, as he called it—are as applicable to the situation in which the Province finds itself now as they were to its situation then, when an arbitrary Governor was seeking to destroy its political freedom.

LORD DURHAM ON COLONIAL RIGHTS

"I know not," Lord Durham wrote, "in what respect it can be desirable that we (the Home Government) should *interfere with their internal legislation* in matters which do not affect their relations with the Mother Country.

The Colonists may not always know what laws are best for them, or which of their countrymen are the fittest for conducting their affairs, but at least *they have a greater interest in coming to a right judgment on these points, and will take greater pains to do so, than those whose welfare is very remotely and slightly affected by the good or bad legislation of these portions of the Empire*. If the Colonists make bad laws, and select improper persons to conduct their affairs, *they will generally be the only, always the greatest, sufferers*; and, like the people of other countries, they must bear the ill which they bring on themselves until they choose to apply the remedy."

HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF.

Substitute for Home Government in this extract from Lord Durham, quoted by Mr. Baldwin, the words Dominion Government, and the present situation is accurately described. The contention of the Ontario Government for the right of the Province to legislate for itself on all matters which do not affect its relations with the Dominion is clearly and vigorously asserted.

If bad laws are made by the Legislature, or if injustice is done, the people themselves must apply the remedy. The people must hold the Government responsible, and punish it for wrong-doing. This is their function alone, and no irresponsible power outside has any right to interfere.

"Upon the practical application of this great principle to the administration of *all our local affairs*," Mr. Baldwin said, "I believe depends not only the happiness and prosperity of the Colony itself, but the *continuation of its connection with the Parent State*."

And so, too, at the present day. The future of the Provinces and of the Union depends on the maintenance of the rights of self-government so boldly affirmed by the Convention of forty years ago.

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Are the men of Ontario now less faithful in devotion to liberty than their fathers were? Or may Sir John Macdonald succeed where Sir Charles Metcalfe failed? The vote of next election day will answer. The duty of the hour is the duty of standing by ourselves.

LOCAL CONTROL OVER LOCAL AFFAIRS.

In the Convention of 1859 the question of self-government was still foremost in the minds of Liberals, with an advance in favour of the Federal system as the only sure means of giving to it practical effect and securing justice for this Province.

"The best practical remedy for the evils now encountered in the Government of Canada," one of the resolutions declared, "is to be found in the formation of two or more Local Governments, to which shall be committed *all matters of a local or sectional character*, and some joint authority charged with such matters as are necessarily common to both sections of the Province."

And at the Convention of 1867 the first resolution was one recording "high gratification that the long and earnest contest of the Reform party for the great principles of representation by population and *local control over local affairs*, has at last been crowned with triumphant success."

It may be said, in the light of recent Federal interference with local affairs in disallowing Provincial Acts, that the gratification expressed in the resolution was somewhat sanguine; but it is not the fault of the Liberal party if such has proved to be the fact, and if the principles of self-government have been violated. That party has proved faithful to its traditions as the parent of local institutions, and—in the language of the Convention of 1883—"will in future, as it has done in the past, guard, cherish, and develop them by all means in its power."

PRINCIPLES OF THE LIBERAL CREED.

Mr. BLAKE—"Remembering the great leading principles of our political creed; remembering the victories which Reformers have achieved in the past; remembering the issues upon which they are bent at present; looking onward to the aspirations for the future—we may well believe that it is right and fitting for us as citizens of this free Province to gather together and consult in the spirit in which these deliberations have been entered into upon those things which are for the best interests of the State. Some articles of that creed have long ago been conceded—so far conceded that ostensibly at least no man speaks against them, and so far conceded as to have become the common property and inheritance of free men in all free countries.

"Yet we must never forget that it was to the exertions of those who have gone before us these benefits are due. The great principles of liberty and equality, of the right to law and order, of respect for public freedom and for private right, the great principle of open, free education for the entire community, the free exercise of every phase and description of religious thought or opinion, the great principle of local self-government by municipal institutions,—the Liberal party is the parent of all. We are proud of our municipal institutions, because in their direct action they tend to the best work being done for the localities within which the action takes place by the men of the locality, and because they form the great schools and nurseries in which are made plain those principles of self-government which we delight in, and the further perfection of which we look for. (Cheers.)

"These are principles—the noble inheritance of past action, of suffering, of accomplishment. We boast of these. These are principles which in times past Reformers have labored for, have worked for, and toiled for. (Cheers.) This is the responsibility under which each individual citizen in a self-governing commun-

ity lies, whether he shirk it or no—the responsibility of, within his sphere and to the extent of his usefulness and power, exerting all these powers for the promotion of right, and dealing with that influence and that power and vote as a public trust not as a private right to be exercised for prejudice or to be sold for pelf. (Applause.)
—Hon. Edward Blake at the Liberal Convention.

HOME RULE FOR ONTARIO.

That by the British North America Act the Provincial Legislature have exclusive powers of legislation on subjects placed by that Act within their jurisdiction: that the power of disallowance by the Federal Government should be exercised only when such legislation is beyond the constitutional jurisdiction of the Province, or antagonistic to Dominion interests: that the Rivers and Streams Act, which dealt with subjects left by the constitution to the exclusive jurisdiction of the Legislature of Ontario, was in no manner illegal, unconstitutional, or antagonistic to Dominion interests: that the repeated disallowance of the Act was, therefore, in the opinion of this Convention, a violation of our Provincial autonomy, and an attack upon the fundamental principle of local self-government provided by the Confederation Act, and secured mainly by the earnest, consistent, and long-continued efforts of the Reform party: and that the action of our Government and Legislature in asserting and vindicating our Provincial constitutional rights demands the approval and support of every patriotic citizen.—*Resolution of the Liberal Convention, 1883.*

A SOUND AND PATRIOTIC POSITION.

The resolution quoted above places before the people the sound and patriotic position of the Liberal party on the question of the constitutional rights of the Province. It is the position which the Reform party has always occupied. Their platform as enunciated by the Convention of 1859 contained amongst other things a demand that local affairs should be placed under local control. And the Convention of 1867 rejoiced that it had been done. For that demand, after years of constitutional struggle, was granted on the confederation of the Provinces in 1867, and by the Act of confederation the principle was supposed to have been made for ever inviolate. Under the 92nd section of that Act power is given to each Provincial Legislature exclusively to make laws in regard to certain specified matters, amongst which are "property and civil rights within the Province." This principal of "local control over local affairs," the right to make laws regarding all matters placed by the constitution within our jurisdiction is the charter of our Provincial liberties.

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the very corner stone of confederation. It is true that the Dominion Government has the same power of disallowance over our Legislation that the British Government has over that of the Dominion. But just as the latter would never dream of using it unless the laws passed by our Parliament whilst within our jurisdiction were antagonistic to the interests of the Empire; so the former should never use the veto power, unless our Provincial laws on matters within our jurisdiction are antagonistic to the interests of the Dominion. No one more clearly held this opinion than Sir John Macdonald. By a state paper in 1868, he laid down the doctrine agreed to by all the Provinces, that any Act of a Local Legislature that was disallowed must be either illegal, unconstitutional, or antagonistic to Dominion interests. Later on his own words in a famous case then before the House of Commons were,—and they are but a sample of many utterances of his.

SIR JOHN MACDONALD'S OPINION.

"The Provinces have their rights, and the question was not whether this House thought the Local Legislature was right or wrong, but the whole question for this House to consider whenever such a question as this was brought up was that they should say at once that they had no right to interfere so long as the different Provincial Legislatures acted within the bounds of the authority which the Constitution gave them. There is the fixed principle that every Provincial Legislature should deal with when it was legislating: it was a reality, and not a sham. If they did not know that the questions they were arguing and discussing, and amending, and modifying to suit their own people would become law it was all a sham, and the federal principle was gone forever. If this House took the great responsibility of interfering in every law passed by Provincial Legislatures this Legislature, instead of being as it is now a general court of Parliament for the decision of great Dominion questions, would be simply a Court of Appeal to try whether the Provincial Legislatures were right or wrong in the conclusions to which they came. If the House was prepared to take that course then the Government of the day, while it would have a large responsibility, would also have much more power; for besides conducting and administering the affairs of the whole Dominion as one great country, it would also have the power and authority and control over every Bill, every Act, every conclusion, every institution, every right of every Province of Canada."

THE VALUE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT.

This principle of home-rule, of local self-government lies at the basis of our Federal system. History abounds with examples of its importance. Ireland today asks for it. For ten long years the Reform party of Old Canada fought for it and succeeded. For fifteen years we have enjoyed it. And the privilege of controlling our own Provincial affairs has proved a great one, worthy of the strenuous, united, and unwearied efforts of our party for a decade.

But after fifteen years what we thus gained, and thus enjoyed, is threatened with destruction. The Dominion Government claims the right of disallowing all our legislation, whether it be exclusively within our jurisdiction or not; whether it be legal, constitutional, in harmony with Dominion interests, or not. They have struck the first blow at this vital principle of local control of local affairs by disallowing

THE RIVERS AND STREAMS ACT.

By an Act of 1849 all streams that could float saw-logs in times of freshets were made public property. Under that Act our lumbermen worked for 25 years,

and worked harmoniously. On many streams they made great improvements to render them more floatable. The use of these they regulated amongst themselves. Generally they either bore the expense jointly, or the one charged the other reasonable tolls for the use of the improvements. None dreamed of claiming the streams as private property. In this way two streams which run through the County of Lanark, and largely make what is known as the Mississippi River, had been improved mainly by one Mr. McLaren. For years he allowed the use of these improvements on the payment of tolls according to the custom of all lumbermen. At length he refused to do so and claimed the streams as his private property. Under some prior decisions, some of the Courts held that they were.

IMPORTANCE OF THE ACT.

It then became necessary to assert anew the intention of the Act of 1849, and declare that no man by making improvements at some points towards the mouth of the stream could stop all the lumber further up from being brought down. The public revenue is largely derived from the timber of the Province. *If such a contention were allowed, the public revenue would be decreased by hundreds of thousands annually, and every lumberman with limits towards the mouth of a stream would virtually confiscate all the lumber on the head waters of that stream.* The public interests demanded legislation, and the Rivers and Streams Bill was passed. It was declared that all such streams were, as they had always been supposed to be, public and not private property, and provided for reasonable tolls, according to the custom of the lumbering trade for a score of years, to pay for such improvements as any lumberman might have made on such streams.

A PURELY PROVINCIAL QUESTION.

Such an Act, dealing strictly with "property and civil rights in the Province," was beyond all question within Provincial jurisdiction. And it was neither illegal, unconstitutional nor antagonistic to Dominion interests. Yet it was disallowed by the Dominion Government. And the flimsy pretext was that under it private property was expropriated without adequate compensation. *Even if it were, the place to apply for the remedy was the Local Legislature, and the proper persons to give the remedy were the people who elect that legislature.* But the pretext was untrue. The compensation was ample—was the usual one according to the practice of lumbermen for quarter of a century. For the first time in our history the Dominion Government dared to interfere in legislation affecting our own local affairs, dared to violate the principle for which the Reform party so long contended—of local control over local affairs—and by a high-handed exercise of the prerogative of disallowance struck a blow at our Provincial liberties and at the very keystone of Confederation itself. Will the people of Ontario tamely submit to such encroachments on our constitutional rights? Will they basely surrender that for which they or their fathers struggled for many long years to gain?

LOCAL CONTROL OVER LOCAL AFFAIRS.

MR. BLAKE.—*It was the promise of local control over local affairs that caused the people of Ontario to accept the scheme of Confederation, and it is by that alone as a scheme or policy that we can expect effectively to manage so vast a territory inhabited by so sparse a population as that with whose government the people of Canada are charged.* You have an enormous area of territory; you have men of different customs and habits; you have different industries to develop, different modes of life and subsistence, and you have separate Provinces, which have had a separate existence for many years. Do you suppose that we are capable at Ottawa, as Government or Legislature, of dealing with those things as efficiently and satisfactorily to

the people of the various localities as the people of the various localities can handle them for themselves? It is out of the question. There was a time when there was no difference on this subject. Early in the history of Confederation the Minister of Justice, who was also First Minister, Sir John Macdonald himself, laid down rules for general action, which rules, though I do not subscribe to every word and phrase in them, did in a general sense answer the view which has been accepted by the people of the country. The Conservative party of that time was in accord with those views and they were until recently; but the Conservative party is a very obedient party. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) It might reiterate the boast of the gentleman who said that if anybody could turn a curve of a corner quicker than he could he would like to see him. (Laughter.) And when the opportunity arose of reverting to the original notions which the gentleman I have mentioned, held as to the meaning of our Constitution—notions I mean in favor of a legislative as against a federative union—when the opportunity arose in which he thought capital might be made by the resurrection of these notions, dead and buried as we thought they were, he was equal to the occasion, and he took another ground; his party followed him; and to-day we have in the House of Commons a changed body of men whose attitudes on this subject we do not know because they have not spoken upon it as yet.

DUTY OF THE PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURE.

We have a body of men in the Provincial Legislature—not very large, not very important, but still representatives of the Conservatives of Ontario—who are for the view latterly taken by Sir John, and against that taken by him in those earlier and better days of his upon this question. Now, I am not saying that because they are members of the Provincial Legislature they ought to take a different view from that which they would take were they members of the Legislature of Canada, but I am saying that it is the bounden duty of the Provincial Legislature to watch carefully any infringement upon Provincial rights. If you do not find caution, watchfulness, alarm, a disposition to meet and to resist aggression there, I ask where will you find it? Will you find it with the aggressors, with those whose overshadowing power and authority leads them to go further and embrace everything upon which they can place their grasp? Surely not. It is the Provincial Legislature whom naturally and necessarily you must look to, to see at any rate the reasonable Provincial position asserted. Now, gentlemen, I say that upon this question the issue for the people of Ontario is this. You supposed that you had the right on certain large matters affecting you only to elect legislators and pass laws according to your own views as to what was for the public interest, and you supposed that those laws when passed if they did not affect the general interests of the Dominion, but were within your exclusive legislative jurisdiction, and did not touch upon those other subjects, would be valid, binding, and effective laws, subject to repeal and amendment if you at any subsequent election should decide that they were defective or injurious. (Hear, hear.) The question is whether you will preserve to yourselves that right of passing, and as you please repealing and modifying those classes of laws, or whether you will deliberately agree that you will not fight to discharge that duty, but that you require somebody over you who will do it better than you will. If you are prepared to say that you so little trust yourselves, that you would be disposed to accept as a grand vetoer, sitting somewhere on a throne, this infallible and perfect man whom I have conjectured for a moment, I should humbly differ with you, and should tell you that you had made a mistake.

WHO ARE THE VETOERS?

"But who are they that profess to act the part of vetoers of your legislation? Who are the owners and proprietors of the veto power, and who set themselves above

the general sense of the people of Ontario? Who are those who set themselves above the determination of the leading minds of the people of Ontario freely elected by yourselves to say what measures the public interests require? Are they perfect men? (Laughter). Are they infallible men? Are they not rather men of like passions with ourselves—only a little more so? (Great laughter, and a voice, "They go it blind.") Are you disposed to say you will appoint some five or six gentlemen, inhabitants of Ontario, to revise your legislation, and to decide whether what you have deliberately decided to be for the public interest is so or not, to say whether it shall remain law or be blotted out of the statute book? But that is not all. These men are not all from Ontario, they are not most of them from Ontario. They number, I believe, some fifteen now, and a minority of them are from the Province of Ontario. Now, I do not object to the fact that they come from other Provinces, but what I say is that the people of each Province, and those who are conversant with the movements of thought and action in each Province are best fitted to decide what is for our particular interest, and that the circumstance that these gentlemen form a body representing all the Provinces is in itself a disqualification for their being invested with this special power.

HOW DO THEY DECIDE?

"You know how your Legislature decides your public affairs, and you know that the determination as to whether or not a particular measure is in the interest of the country or not is only arrived at after open deliberation and debate, at which any of you may be present who desire, and of which all of you are made aware by means of the press. But the thirteen infallible and perfect men, whom the Conservatives propose to set over us to determine whether our laws shall be waste paper or not—how do they reach their conclusions? Do they reach them in public after discussing and setting forth the reasons which animate them? No; they arrive at them in a chamber with locked doors, in a little room where I myself sat for a couple of years, and where no one can hear the reasons which they give for their action. In fact, an oath is sworn that they will not divulge their reasons, and that the advice given then will not be made public. There is an old rule, which is not based upon any legal technicality, but upon principles of justice, which recommends itself to free men, viz., that before you decide a cause you shall hear both sides, and Sir John himself laid down the rule that in case objection was taken to any local legislation the Provincial Government should be notified in order that they might have an opportunity of giving their reasons for passing the law and vindicate its correctness. That was a just and a sound thing. But in this particular case which has raised the question, no such notice was given, no such opportunity was afforded, but the man who complained of the law put into the Privy Council his statement of what had occurred, his reasons and his arguments, and without calling upon the Local Government for their views or explanations, these infallible thirteen overruled your law and turned it into waste paper. The question is whether we are to retain our Provincial liberties or not. (Hear, hear). That is the question to which I hope and believe the people of Ontario will not hesitate to answer 'Yes.'"—Hon. Edward Blake at the Liberal Convention, 1883.

AN ISSUE OF SURPASSING MOMENT.

Mr. MOWAT.—"We have another great issue—one of surpassing moment. It affects the whole population, the whole Province. It was the question of the Ottawa Government disallowing our local legislation. The policy of the Ottawa Government in this respect changes our whole position as a member of Confederation. The scheme of Confederation was based on the idea that there was being effected a

broad division of legislative power. The Act of Confederation declares on a variety of subjects that they should be under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Legislature. There is the power of disallowance vested in His Excellency the Governor-General, just as there is in Her Majesty the Queen in regard to the legislation of all the colonies and of the Dominion. That power is one, however, which in recent times is admittedly exercised *only when the legislation objected to is beyond the power of the colony to pass*, and there may be some other cases in which disallowance is still exercised by Her Majesty, but instances are so few that it is difficult to say what they are. The mere fact that the Colonial law is opposed to that of Great Britain is not a reason why it should be disallowed. Take our custom duties.* Of course they were contrary to the policy of Great Britain, and the Queen had the power of disallowing them, but she has not, recognizing the right of the colony to deal with such matters, even though the method of dealing with them may be antagonistic to the interests of the Empire in the view of the Government of the day. (Hear, hear.) What is the Ottawa Government doing? They have disallowed the Rivers and Streams Act, an Act confessedly within our powers beyond all manner of doubt. The reason why it is disallowed is because the Dominion Government say its provisions are unjust.

THE PEOPLE OF ONTARIO ARE THE JUDGES.

"Now we say that is for the people of Ontario themselves to say. (Loud cheers.) It is for them to judge of the justice of the measure. That was the view of all parties until recently. That was the view taken by Sir John Macdonald and expressed in official documents in our possession. It was the position he took in a celebrated debate in the House of Commons. He declared then that if at Ottawa any question should be decided as to the justness of an Act of a Provincial Legislature such a course would make all Provincial legislation "a sham," and the observation was a just one. He pointed out that the effect would be that no Act would be exempt from disallowance at Ottawa. At that time he pointed out with great earnestness and accuracy, that such a construction of the constitutional rule was most injurious and objectionable. No party doubted that. But that was all changed now, and we are told that we have not that power of legislation we thought we had, and which we went into Confederation to secure; and if we thought we had not the right to pass a single law unless it was subject to it being said at Ottawa that in the belief or alleged belief of the members of the Cabinet that law worked an injustice to some one, we would not have entered into Confederation. (Cheers.) They may say any law is unjust. It is a matter on which there may be a difference of opinion. But there is no doubt we have that right of legislation it was intended we should have. You who have studied the history of this country know the reason why the representatives of Upper Canada were in favour of Confederation was because it was found that in the Parliament bills affecting Upper Canada only and supported by the majority of Upper Canadians were voted down by a Lower Canadian majority, and one of the great objects kept in view by the authors of Confederation was the prevention of this state of things.

THE OLD EVIL BROUGHT BACK.

"In the records of the Reform Association of 1859 you will find a long list of measures disposed of in this way which shows that the then existing system was not working well (hear hear), and that there should be some remedy. One great complaint was that Upper Canadians could not get for themselves the legislation they wanted. We went into Confederation as a cure. We find, however, the old evil brought back, and we are told that every bill the Legislature of this Province may

pass, after being fully discussed in the light of day and ventilated by public discussion and through the press, may be disallowed by the Ottawa Government as they choose. *The great evil we supposed had been corrected by the Confederate Act is still rife, and we are no more free than before—as much under the heel of others as when this complaint was first made. I do not think that a sound construction of our Constitution. I do not think that as sound a rule as that acted upon until very lately, and I want your verdict at the approaching elections to say whether you are willing that Acts of your own legislation, within your own jurisdiction, should be vetoed at Ottawa. (Cheers.) To say whether you have greater confidence in the Ministers who happen to be at Ottawa, sent there on other than Provincial issues, or in our own representatives in the Legislature. (Loud Cheers.) The particular Act which has been disallowed is said to take away the property of one man, and give to another, without compensation. This is not a true representation of the Act. It does give compensation. It does not take away the property of anybody. It leaves property just where it is, but permits others to use it by paying reasonable tolls, and this is the method of compensation always provided hitherto in such cases; and no question has ever arisen as to the adequacy of the compensation. No proposal has ever been made to us as to what amount of compensation owners would think reasonable. The method of compensation is perfectly just and reasonable.*

NOT FOR THE MEN AT OTTAWA TO DECIDE.

"I say, further, this is not a question for the men at Ottawa to decide. It is a local matter for your representatives to decide. (Cheers.) The force of the difficulty may come home to the mind of the municipal man if you consider what the condition of the various Municipal Councils would be, and what feelings of their constituents would be if the Government at Ottawa undertook to revise and veto the by-laws of your Councils whenever they choose. The jurisdiction assumed by the Dominion is even more objectionable than that. They talk of centralization, but there is a centralization which threatens to be a most dangerous one, and one which will be accomplished unless the people of Ontario are firm in resisting the attempt. (Loud cheers.) I know that during the late Dominion elections I was proclaimed on the political platforms and by a portion of the press as being a "tyrant," because I stood up for the rights of Ontario. (Hear, hear.) Well, that is the sort of "tyrant" I always mean to be—(loud cheering)—until the territorial and constitutional rights of our Province are secured forever."—Hon. Mr. Mowat at the Liberal Convention of 1883.

ELECTORS, DEFEND THE CITADEL!

Such, electors of Ontario, is the issue. It is the issue of twenty years ago once more presented. It is the vindication of the right of local control over local affairs. It is the defense of the very citadel of Confederation. Are you prepared to forego your Provincial liberties? Will you place the management of your affairs in the hands of those whose position is best described by their leader when in the tones of conscious guilt he exclaims: "It will be said that I and the opposition I lead have proved traitors to the best interests of Ontario, and false to our true position as her representatives."?

THE ONTARIO BOUNDARIES.

That this Province came into Confederation with the territory which formerly belonged to Upper Canada; that the extent of that territory on the north and west was at that time undetermined, but was, in the month of August, 1878, finally determined by the unanimous Award of able Arbitrators of the highest distinction, appointed on a competent reference by the respective Governments of the Dominion and this Province under an agreement, to which the good faith and honour of both were pledged, that the Award should be final and conclusive: that this Award was accepted by the Government of this Province as in honour bound, but was repudiated by the Government of the Dominion; that such repudiation is, in the opinion of the Convention, a violation of public law and national faith, and an indefensible denial on the part of the Federal authorities of the just claims and territorial rights of this Province; and that the manly and persistent assertion by the Government of Ontario of those claims and those rights, and their demand for the immediate ownership and government of the awarded territory, deserve the support and co-operation not only of the Liberal party, but of every citizen of the Province.—*Resolution of the Liberal Convention, 1883.*

This resolution sets forth all the important facts in the Boundary question. There was a large area of territory in dispute, and the two Governments agreed to refer their respective claims to the decision of three Arbitrators. Evidence was collected, cases were prepared, and able counsel were engaged. The Arbitrators were distinguished men. They weighed the evidence. They heard the arguments of counsel. *They made a unanimous Award.* The Government of Ontario accepted that Award in good faith, and the Legislature passed an Act to ratify it. The Government of the Dominion ignored it for three years, and then repudiated it—regardless alike of national honour and good faith, and of the terms of a solemn agreement between the two Governments.

But to the citizens of Ontario there is more in the Boundaries dispute than the maintenance of national honour. The territory is one hundred thousand square miles in extent, and it is rich in stores of forest and mineral wealth; and, as was stated by A. M. Ross, M.P.P., in moving the resolution, it is of importance to us as a Province, and to every man in his own municipality and locality.

"It is the policy of Mr. Mowat," Mr. Ross said, "when a surplus has accumulated in the Treasury that it be given back to the people to be expended in local improvements of various kinds. The value of the timber of the new territory will form another large surplus to be distributed amongst the people, and even on that ground they should resent the attempt made by the enemies of their Province to wrest it from them."

HALF OUR TERRITORY AT STAKE.

Mr. MOWAT—"The elections which are now approaching are not to be decided upon ordinary grounds, or in reference to ordinary issues. The material question will not be in regard to acts of administration or of legislation on the part of the present Ontario Government. Indeed there is very little even pretended to be said against these acts; but there are matters which the electors have to consider of much higher moment than the issues which were before them on the two previous occasions. You have now not to consider the particular acts of the Government, but half your territory is at stake! (Hear, hear.) At the elections which are now soon to be held you will have to take that course which will secure to you half your Province! (Loud cheers.)

"It is no bold thing to say that the disputed territory is yours; that it belongs to the Province. It is no new claim we are setting up to-day. Until the settlement with the Hudson Bay Company, until a release was obtained by the Dominion Government of their claims, no one in all Canada doubted, no one ever disputed that I know of, that this territory which is now disputed belonged to Upper Canada. As a part of that Province grants were made and justice was administered in that territory; our courts held jurisdiction there, and our Government insisted that they had jurisdiction there likewise. And who were those who made this admission? Why, our great opponent now, Sir John Macdonald, was one. (Hear, hear.) Sir Alexander Campbell was another of them.

"We are told privately—the newspapers do not state it, but we are told privately by friends of the Government—that the difficulty in giving effect to the Award, in permitting Ontario to incorporate this portion of her territory, arises from objections made to it from the other Provinces. *But they do not tell you that the representatives of those other Provinces were amongst those who before 1872 were as strong as anybody in asserting that all that territory belonged to Upper Canada!* Sir George Cartier, the trusted and chosen and esteemed leader of the Lower Canadians, was one of these. He joined in the declaration that the evidence in support of the contention that that territory was ours was so clear that no one who made an impartial investigation of the evidence could doubt that it belonged to Upper Canada. Lower Canadians who were members of the Government took that view, and there were representatives from the Maritime Provinces after Confederation who also took that view.

"You will see, therefore, that when Ontario insisted that that territory was hers she was insisting on no new claim. She is merely insisting that that old admission shall be still acted upon; that as all her statesmen and people up to the period I have mentioned insisted that the territory was ours, so should the Government still continue to do; so should the Parliament of Canada still continue to do.

THE BASIS OF OUR CLAIMS.

"But it is well that you should know exactly the grounds upon which our claim to the territory rests. It has been investigated by the ablest men in Upper Canada. We have never had in this Province a Chief Justice who possessed in a larger degree the confidence of the profession and the people than Chief Justice Draper. He was one of the most able, painstaking, and learned of the judges, and we have on record his opinion, deliberately given—after having been engaged in the study of this question for many months, and after being employed specially on behalf of the Government of Canada—we have on record his opinion that the disputed territory extended at least as far as the arbitrators have given to us. You have, therefore, a judicial opinion of the highest authority in favour of insisting on our awarded boundaries.

"Then the matter was left to arbitration, and you had a unanimous award—and from whom? You had another Chief Justice investigating the case—a Chief Justice standing high, and deservedly so, in public estimation—I refer to Justice Harrison; not a Liberal, but a Conservative, and a personal friend of Sir John Macdonald himself. He came to the conclusion which you will find embodied in the award; his judgment was that the awarded boundaries were the correct ones. You have also the opinion, after a like investigation, of one of the most eminent men in his line—Sir Edward Thornton—who was British Ambassador at Washington and now is the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg; a man of the highest qualifications for an investigation of that kind. He came to the same conclusion as had been arrived at by Justice Draper and Justice Harrison, and so many of our statesmen and legislators previously. Sir Francis Hincks was the arbitrator chosen on that occasion on behalf of the Dominion; he also investigated the evidence in detail, and he arrived at the same conclusion. Now, it is perfectly idle to say, or for any one to pretend, that an award which accorded with the deliberate and well considered opinion of such men as these has any other foundation than the right of Upper Canada to its own boundaries. *We have the right to these boundaries, we have the award in our favor, and as representing the people of Ontario we have stood by these boundaries, and we mean to stand by them.* (Cheers.)

SETTLEMENT BY ARBITRATION.

"It is now said that in entering upon an arbitration, in agreeing to leave the subject to those eminent men for decision, the Dominion Government 'transcended' its powers. That is the expression made use of in a despatch of the Dominion Government of about a year ago. It is certainly very strange that that discovery was never made until then; it is very strange that the men who proclaim that opinion now kept it concealed in their own breasts while the investigation was going on, when the reference took place, while the evidence was being collected, and when the arbitrators were appointed. It is very strange that year after year, while the sessions of Parliament were taking place, and something or other said about the reference, and the arbitration, and the boundaries of the country, that they should never have discovered that the Executive in entering upon that reference was 'transcending' its powers. It is very strange that when the Government of the day asked for a vote of \$15,000 for the purpose of defraying the expenses of that arbitration, no such statement was made. They sent forth no warning to the Province that the arbitration would be nugatory and of no value. *That statement is only made when we have succeeded in establishing our right to the territory!* Well, now, it is by means of an award that questions of this very kind are usually settled by Governments, and it is contrary to all modern precedent among civilized nations that after a matter has been left to arbitrators in good faith objection should be taken to fulfilling their award. (Cheers.) Our Government and Parliament have taken a course *utterly without precedent among civilized nations*, and we have been doing our best under these circumstances to maintain the rights of our Province.

REFERENCE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

"Lately the suggestion has been made that this matter should be left to the Privy Council. That proposition has to some persons a look of equity and reason, which, however, is on the surface only. In the first place, I may observe that *there has been no offer on the part of the Dominion Government of such a kind that it is possible for us to accept, or even to consider.* If I were to accede to a proposal to leave the question to the Privy Council, not only would I be acceding to that

which it was unjust to demand, not only would I be putting this Province to an expense to which it ought not to be subjected, but I would be really *enabling the Dominion Government to delay indefinitely any settlement at all!* (Hear, hear.)

"Any lawyer knows that in order to bring a matter before the Privy Council every step in the process has to be consented to by all the parties to the case. In this instance the proposal was, that besides the matters before the arbitrators any additional documentary evidence might be brought in. See how this would work. I prepare my list of documentary evidence and send it to Ottawa and Manitoba, as the consent of both the Ottawa and Manitoba Governments is necessary before another step can be taken, and they have an absolute discretion to *delay just as long as they like* in saying whether that list is acceptable or not. They, too, have the right to put in any documents in the matter, and *delay just as long as they like in doing so*. A case has to be prepared for the Privy Council, and they may again delay as long as they wish. If I prepare one, they may delay as long as they like to say whether they approve of it or not, or in making any suggestions as to the same.

"Before we could go to the Privy Council there are many steps to be taken, but, briefly, all these require the consent of those two Governments, and not only their passive but their active consent, as we have no means of compelling such consent. We have no means of preventing delay, and you see what the consequences would be. It does not require a great deal of wisdom to see that it would be a pretty long time before the case would come up for decision. (Hear, hear.) Observe, while all this is going on *the Dominion Government is still in possession of the territory, and the development of the country is kept back*. While all this is going on our timber is being destroyed and a hostile population is occupying it, the only settlers being trespassers and squatters. There is, every year which passes, an enormous loss to this Province, and the longer the delay is, of course the greater is the loss.

A GAME OF DELAY.

"We know what Sir John Macdonald's object is, and I have good cause for imputing to the Dominion Government a disposition to delay this matter. It took them three years and a half to answer our proposals about the settlement of this matter. We were sending despatch after despatch, and the only answer we got was that they had been received, and that the matter would be duly considered! (Laughter.) They now say that it should be left to the Privy Council. They know that the consent of Manitoba is now necessary to make such a reference of any consequence at all.

"The Dominion Government themselves brought Manitoba into the question by passing an Act by which the concurrence of that Province would be necessary to any such step. While they pretend to be pressing for a reference to the Privy Council they have never got the consent of Manitoba, or even ascertained whether Manitoba would give its consent, notwithstanding that the Parliament of that Province has been in session since the passing of Mr. Plumb's resolution regarding a reference to the Council.

"All these things demonstrate that there is no reality in their proposals.

"It is said that Sir John Macdonald is a pretty astute man, and I have no doubt he is, but I felt that, acting for the Province of Ontario, it was my duty to take care that the great man did not get the better of me in this matter. (Cheers and laughter.) If I had at once blindly consented to the proposal without any conditions, or without the conditions which ought to accompany such a proposal, of having the matter left to the Privy Council, then I would have allowed myself to be caught by Sir John Macdonald. (Laughter.) He has not caught me yet, and I don't think he will. (Applause.)

NECESSITY FOR POSSESSION.

"Now, it is of the utmost importance to get undisputed possession of the territory at the earliest possible moment in order to the development of the country ; in order that we may see after the settlement and management of the lands, and that we may prevent our forest wealth from being wasted and squandered, as they are now being. (Applause.) It is a disgrace to a civilized country that a territory of 100,000 square miles should be without any settled laws and government, which is the condition of things in this disputed territory. It might be worth our while to consent to refer this matter to the Privy Council if they will allow us to have undisputed possession of it, and if they will allow us the undisputed right to legislate for it in the meantime. These things are necessary, and I am not afraid of their delay if they will consent to this, and I should be then quite willing to give them any reference they choose. (Applause.) I know we have a righteous cause, and I have no fear of the results of another enquiry ; but I don't want the territory to be stripped within the next ten years, which our opponents could easily accomplish within that time if they live so long. (Applause.)

A CLEAR EXPRESSION OF OPINION CALLED FOR.

"Now, what I want is this : I want an unmistakably clear expression of opinion from the people of Ontario as to whether they are in favour of the policy of the Government of Ontario with respect to this territory, or the policy of the Dominion Government. (Cheers.) There was a time when it seemed as if the plain wishes of the people of Upper Canada were known ; there was a time when it seemed very plain what was the judgment of Upper Canada in reference to this territory. In the House of Assembly the representatives of the people of all parties for two successive years united, with the single exception of one member, in declaring that this award settled our rights, and calling upon the Government to maintain our rights. Then it could be seen that Ontario was an unit in this matter. This was a time when the Government had a right to speak for Ontario as an unit, and insist upon the Award being recognized. (Applause.)

"This time has now passed—and why ? Because our opponents have abandoned Ontario ; they have abandoned the just claims of their own Province, and taken a brief from the other side. They are now insisting that the Dominion Government is right, and the Boundary Award is incorrect, and that we should commence anew the litigation. And as a further reason why we should do this they say that the people of Ontario spoke with reference to this territory. We have had the Dominion elections ; and there were very important issues at these elections about which our people were not agreed. I was then desirous of having these Provincial questions discussed at those elections, for I thought, personally, that the people might very well be asked to express their opinion on the Provincial issues. The people thought differently, and I cannot blame them for it. The majority were of opinion that the protective policy was of more importance, and acted accordingly.

"But what has the Dominion Government since claimed that the elections proved ? They claim that the verdict of the people was against the Local Government, and that they had given a verdict in favour of the Dominion Government upon the matter of the Boundary Award, and that the people of Ontario were in favour of giving it up. Now, I want a clear and unmistakable expression of opinion that they are for keeping this territory—(applause)—that they demand this territory. I want them to say that the verdict in the Dominion elections had nothing to do with these Provincial questions, and I have no fear of the verdict of the people not being in accordance with Provincial rights and Provincial interests. (Cheers.)

"When I have obtained that verdict—as I have no doubt I shall do—I want it to be an intimation to the Dominion Government, Mr. Monseau, and the representatives of the other Provinces that Ontario does demand this territory, and that it should be awarded to us at the earliest possible moment. Why, we should be reduced to one of the smallest Provinces in the Dominion if we acceded to their demands. It is for you to say what you want in this matter. (Applause.)

"It is not often that the people have to deal with such a question as this. It is not often that the people have to deal with a question involving half their territory, and decide whether it shall be 100,000 or 200,000 square miles. But you have that issue before you now, and the power of deciding it. That is a trust which you will be bound to exercise your opinion on, and which you will determine, I am sure, in the interests of the whole country. (Applause.)

THE VALUE OF THE TERRITORY.

"I have not alluded to the value of the territory. It matters not what the value of the territory is; but if it is of such little value as it is falsely said from time to time to be, how is it that the other Provinces and the Dominion Government are so determined that we are not to have it? There is no difficulty in settling it if Sir John is willing to settle. It requires only an Act of theirs to remove all controversy in the matter. If the property is of so little value, it is certainly extraordinary that we cannot get that little from them. If the good faith of the Government is to be redeemed, then there will be no difficulty in settling all the matters in dispute." (Applause.)—*Hon. Mr. Mowat at the Liberal Convention.*

THE ARBITRATORS AND THEIR WORK.

Mr. MACKENZIE.—"It was during my own administration of affairs that the Arbitrators were appointed. We first appointed Judge Wilmot, from New Brunswick, who unfortunately died before the Board met. Then we appointed Sir Francis Hincks in his place. I nominated him as being a man in every way thoroughly capable of appreciating the position and deciding upon the merits of the case submitted. He received no instructions except to find the true boundaries, and he received all the papers and books that were in our possession.

"Sir John Macdonald has claimed that there was not sufficient time given the Arbitrators to discuss the question and ascertain the merits of the dispute. I can only say that Sir Edward Thornton, the other arbitrator agreed upon, had all the books and papers in his possession for over two years, that Chief Justice Harrison had all the papers for at least six or eight months, and that Sir Francis Hincks also had all the documents in the case for some months. The Arbitrators had studied the question before coming to Ottawa, and you will see, therefore, how unfair it was to state that they had no time or opportunity to make up their minds or to search out the true state of the case, but that they came to Ottawa, stayed there three days, and on the third day gave their judgment, after hearing incompetent lawyers.

"I have only to say, as to the legal gentlemen engaged in the case, that we employed the present Judge Armour, who was engaged for a year or more in studying the question on behalf of the Dominion, and all his researches were placed at the disposal of the Commission through Mr. MacMahon, whom we selected to succeed Mr. Armour as our counsel, along with Mr. Monk, of Montreal. Since I left office the present Administration have paid Judge Armour for his services the sum of \$2,000, yet they say there was no proper legal representation of the case before the Arbitrators. (Hear, hear.)

"The position we have to take to-day is that this arbitration was entered upon with the solemn and deliberate intention of abiding by the Award to be made by

those three Arbitrators, or, as it was expressed in our Orders in Council, that it should be 'final and conclusive' if signed by two out of the three Arbitrators.

"I find a great number of people are under the impression that we held a session of Parliament after the Award was delivered. The Award was made in August, 1878, and we received notice to quit—(laughter)—on the 17th September following. We had, therefore, no opportunity whatever to give validity to the Award by legislation, although we intended to have an Act for the purpose passed."

—Hon. Alexander Mackenzie at the Liberal Convention.

A HYPOCRITICAL PLEA.

Mr. HARDY—"Mr. Morris says 'We'll get more territory, perhaps, if we go to the Privy Council,' and all the little politicians along the concessions of the Parliamentary road echo the same plea. They would surrender territory equal to the present Province of Ontario because, forsooth, if they went to the Privy Council perhaps they could get more. They try to make the people and the House believe that they are sincere in this plea, but the answer is plain: 'If you are sincere, tell your new allies—the men who call your local conventions and run them, the men whom you follow—to give us the territory covered by the Award, and we will appeal to litigation if necessary to get the rest.' (Hear, hear, and cheers.)

"If Sir John Macdonald, as they aver, looks at the matter from that point of view, why did he cut from the very heart of the territory a belt of land forty miles wide and nearly two hundred and fifty long and hand it over to the Syndicate to plunder and despoil? Is that his plan of giving Ontario more land than was covered by the Award? But more than that, if their party is so anxious that Ontario should get more land than was awarded her by the arbitrators why did the leader of the party in bringing down his Manitoba Bill in 1881 establish a supposed boundary line nearly 250 miles east of the former boundary of that Province, thereby assigning to it the whole of the territory in dispute? Why did the same gentleman declare in Toronto in the opening speech of the last campaign that he believed not an acre of that land, not a stick of its timber, not a pound of its ore belonged to Ontario? (Hear, hear, and cheers.)

A SUDDEN CHANGE OF FRONT.

"I ask you to bear in mind that for two sessions the Opposition in the Local Legislature voted solidly, with the exception of one member, for the resolutions which invited Mr. Mowat to stand by the award and uphold the rights of his Province by every means in his power. But in the third session there was a sudden and mysterious change of front. And why? At the November Convention (1881) something must have been said on the subject to account for the change, for Mr. Meredith turned his back on his former vote, and voted 'nay' where he had previously voted 'yea.' No doubt Sir John had met Mr. Meredith at this Convention, and said to him: 'William, how is this? I see you have been voting against me and the Conservative party. I may want to go to the country at an early day, and if you do not come to time on this question I cannot be returned by a united Conservative party, nor can you when your time comes if you say No!' You can imagine Mr. Meredith replying: 'Well, Sir John, I only voted for what I thought was honest and fair on this question.' 'Ah, but,' Sir John would say, 'you are ruining the party; you have been shouting Yes! and now you must turn round and shout No!' (Laughter.) When I say yes in Ottawa I want you to say yes in Toronto; when I say thumbs up in Ottawa, thumbs must go up in Toronto.' (Loud Laughter.) The result was that William turned round obediently and shouted 'No' where he had formerly shouted 'Yes,' and he has been lustily shouting 'No' ever since. (Laughter and cheers.)

THE TRAITORS TO ONTARIO.

"You will be called upon to exercise your franchise, and I ask you, and the Mowat Government asks you, to remember that you are citizens of Ontario. We also ask you whether you will entrust that party with power who, when sent to discharge their sworn duty of protecting the rights of the Province, handed the care of them over to those who for the time being hostile to them. Will you entrust those men to power, or will you entrust the men who have stood in the breach in favor of the rights of Ontario while their opponents have been surrendering the citadel? Will you return that party who, when the battle was raging, hauled down the flag, and carried it over to the enemy? Or will you return the party whose leader shouldered his musket and carried his flag boldly in the van. I believe the people are one upon the boundary question, as they are also upon that of their right to legislate upon their own local affairs."—*Hon. A. S. Hardy at the Liberal Convention.*

AN UNFAITHFUL AND PARTISAN OPPOSITION.

Mr. BLAKE.—"Upon the Boundary Award the people of Ontario are practically united. They have repeated in their Legislature in two successive sessions that the Award is right, that Ontario expected the Dominion Government to take the necessary steps in order that it may be finally settled upon that basis. There was a time, as a poet has said of ancient Rome,

When none were for the party,
When all were for the State,

and we found the gentlemen in the Opposition standing to record their opinions—*though they acknowledged it was against their feelings*—adversely to the Government at Ottawa on this matter. But after two years more determined action was decided upon by the Government at Ottawa. Up to this they had only shirked dealing with the question, and now action was taken in the direction of refusing to ratify the Award, and the moment that conclusion was reached those gentlemen who had been with us now were unwilling to protest against repudiation. If they were right in those two sessions, and we think they were when they voted in favor of the Award as a just Award, as one which we ought to expect the Dominion Parliament to make final and conclusive, we cannot see why they are not wrong now, when they have turned round and taken a diametrically opposite course! It is just the same as it was in former days when those gentlemen called for 'no party'; they are animated exclusively by the party spirit. (Cheers.)"—*Hon. Edward Blake at the Liberal Convention.*

IT IS MORE THAN A COMMERCIAL QUESTION.

Mr. RYAN.—"What the Conservatives now say about the disputed territory is that it is wholly a commercial question, and that, so regarded, it is of little consequence. I deny that the importance of this question can be measured by the acreage of the land involved, or the possible value of the territory if fully developed. It is a question involving the integrity of our Province, and the rights of our people. A board of arbitrators, intelligent, high-minded, and disinterested men, have awarded us the territory, and we are not patriots, we are unworthy of the constitution under which we live, if for ourselves and those who are to come after us we fail to maintain our territorial rights. (Cheers.)"—*Ald. Peter Ryan at the Liberal Convention.*

ONTARIO MUST STAND FIRM.

SIR R. CARTWRIGHT.—"There is a cause which prevented the authorities at Ottawa either giving effect to the Award or stating their reason for refusing.

Until lately we have been compelled to judge what that cause was, but within a few months—not in time for the last general election—we obtained from the mouth of the Premier of Quebec the reason why it was not ratified. A secret compact was made in 1878 by Sir John Macdonald that rightly or wrongly the Award must not be ratified. I do not believe that our fellow-countrymen in the Province of Quebec or elsewhere grudge Ontario anything which is hers, but I do believe that a very small clique of politicians are determined that, as far as they can hinder her, Ontario shall not be allowed to extend her territories, or even obtain that which is her own! (Applause.) If the inhabitants of Ontario are to band themselves together to obtain this right they must succeed. (Applause.)

"I have asked the question on the floor of the House, and on the hustings, but in both places I have been unable to obtain an answer to it: Is there any person who believes that if the position of affairs had been reversed—if the Award had been in favour of the Province of Quebec—that five years would have been allowed to lapse before they would have obtained an answer to these despatches, or a decision upon the points? (No, no.)

"I tell you that if the Province of Quebec had been treated through its representatives as Ontario has been through hers, not one French representative would have remained in the Cabinet twenty-four hours. Not a representative of his Province would have dared betray it as Ontario's representatives in the Cabinet have betrayed us. The people of the Province of Quebec always stand unitedly for their rights, and it is the duty of Ontario men to stand shoulder to shoulder when a grave and great question like this comes up.—*Sir Richard Cartwright at the Liberal Convention.*

BINDING OBLIGATIONS OF THE AWARD.

The Government of the Dominion and the Government of Ontario were each bound to accept the Award of the Arbitrators, as appears by Orders in Council passed by the two Governments respectively.

On the 12th November, 1874, a Committee of the Privy Council of Canada recommended for the approval of His Excellency the Governor-General the name of Hon. Lemuel Allan Wilmot, of New Brunswick, as one of the referees, and "that the Dominion agree to concurrent action with the Province of Ontario in obtaining such legislation as may be deemed necessary for giving binding effect to the conclusions arrived at, and for establishing the northern and western limits of the Province of Ontario in accordance therewith." The report was approved by the Governor-General on the same day.

On the 25th of November, 1874, an Order in Council of the Ontario Government was approved by the Lieutenant-Governor, naming Hon. Wm. Buell Richards as referee, and agreeing to "concurrent action with the Dominion in obtaining such legislation as may be necessary for giving binding effect to the conclusion which may be arrived at, and for establishing the northern and western boundaries of the Province of Ontario in accordance therewith."

The death of Hon. Mr. Wilmot and the resignation of Hon. Mr. Richards led to the appointment of Sir Francis Hincks and Hon. R. A. Harrison as referees respectively for the Dominion and the Province, and by Orders in Council, approved the 31st July, 1878, both Governments agreed to the selection of Sir Edward Thornton as third referee, and to accept the determination of the three referees as "final and conclusive."

THE OPPOSITION RECORD.

In the session of 1879 the Legislature of Ontario passed an Act consenting to the Award, and authorizing the Parliament of Canada to declare that the boundaries

as determined by the arbitrators are the northerly and westerly boundaries of the Province. The measure passed through all its stages without a single vote being recorded against it.

In the session of 1880 a series of resolutions was adopted by the House declaring :

(1) "That this House believes it to be of the highest importance to the interests of this Province, and to the securing of the peace, order, and good government of the said northerly and westerly parts of Ontario, that the rights of this Province as determined and declared by the award of the arbitrators appointed by the concurrent agreement and action of the Governments of Canada and Ontario should be firmly maintained ;" and

(2) "That this House will at all times give its cordial support to the assertion by the Government of Ontario of the just claims and rights of this Province, and to all necessary or proper measures to vindicate such just claims and rights, and to sustain the award of the arbitrators by which the northerly and westerly boundaries of this Province have been determined."

EVERY MEMBER OF THE OPPOSITION VOTED FOR THESE RESOLUTIONS ! (See Journals for 1880, p. 160.)

In the session of 1881 another series of resolutions was adopted by the House on the same subject, declaring :

(1) "That the omission of the Government and Parliament of Canada to confirm the Award is attended with great inconvenience, has the effect of retarding settlement and municipal organization, embarrasses the administration of the laws, and interferes with the preservation of the peace, the maintenance of order, and the establishment of good government in the northerly and north-westerly parts of the Province of Ontario ;" and

(2.) "That it is the duty of the Government of Ontario to assert and maintain the just claims and rights of the Province as determined by the award of the arbitrators ; and this House hereby re-affirms its determination to give its cordial support to the Government of Ontario in any steps it may be necessary to take to sustain the Award, and to assert and maintain the just claims and rights of the Province as thereby determined."

EVERY MEMBER OF THE OPPOSITION, WITH ONE SOLITARY EXCEPTION, VOTED FOR THESE RESOLUTIONS ! (See Journals for 1881, p. 150.)

In the session of 1882, after twice publicly pledging themselves to sustain the award of the arbitrators, the members of the Opposition turned round in a body and abandoned the award ; and in the session of 1883 they have by formal resolution declared that the whole matter should be referred for decision to the Privy Council of England.

It is little wonder that the leader of the Opposition, in reflecting upon this record, should be led to confess : "IT WILL BE SAID THAT I AND THE OPPOSITION I LEAD HAVE PROVED TRAITORS TO THE BEST INTERESTS OF ONTARIO, AND FALSE TO OUR TRUE POSITION AS HER REPRESENTATIVES !"

"Yes, the electors of Ontario will say, that describes the situation exactly ; and we will take good care that men who have proved themselves traitors to our best interests in Opposition will not get a chance of proving themselves still greater traitors in the Government."

CONFIDENCE IN MR. MOWAT.

That this Convention of the Reformers of Ontario recognizes with pride and pleasure the fidelity to Liberal principles which have been evinced through a long series of administrative and legislative acts by the Reform Governments and Legislatures of the Province for the last eleven years, and deem it to be the bounden duty of all true Liberals to strengthen to the uttermost the hands of the Hon. Oliver Mowat, our worthy leader, and his colleagues, at this critical period in our Provincial history.—*Resolution of the Liberal Convention, 1883.*

The following address was presented to Hon. Mr. Mowat at the Reform Convention, 1883 :

To the Honorable Oliver Mowat, Q.C., M.P.P., LL.D., Her Majesty's Attorney-General for Ontario, and Premier of the Province.

SIR,—This large and thoroughly representative Convention of the Reformers of Ontario has sought the earliest opportunity of tendering you an expression of their earnest esteem and unwavering confidence.

Ever since your entry into public and Parliamentary life, now more than twenty-five years ago, you have filled a prominent place in Canadian history ; and during that long period neither the malignity of defeated opponents nor the bitterness of a partisan press has dared to breathe a charge against your integrity or your honor.

In the earlier years of your public life you stood in the front rank of those who did battle for the rights of Upper Canada ; and in these latter days you are our chosen leader in the struggle for Provincial Rights. As you succeeded once in achieving your purpose, not by rending asunder, but by assisting to lay the foundations of a greater Canada, so we believe that you will again strengthen our Federal system by showing the sister Provinces that Ontario is the first to resist encroachments upon Provincial rights—be they legislative or be they territorial.

If the Bench lost one of its most useful occupants when you yielded to a call of duty and again ventured upon the troubled sea of politics, the statute books of Ontario for the last ten years are unanswerable evidence of how great has been the country's gain. Possessing the uniform confidence of the Legislature, you have led its members steadily forward in the path of law reform, and have also prepared for their consideration measures of practical value wherever there were improvements to be made or abuses to be corrected. When it is considered how closely the social happiness and the material prosperity of the people are identified with the subjects of Provincial legislative authority, it is manifestly of the highest importance to the whole community that services such as yours should be both recognized and sustained.

While the administration of Provincial finances by your Government has been characterized by prudence and economy, there has been no failure on their part to promote by judicious expenditure all projects of undoubted public usefulness or necessity.

Unceasing and special exertions appear to have been made by yourself and your colleagues to encourage and develop in every way the great agricultural interests of Ontario, and it is gratifying to know that these efforts have been crowned with signal success.

This address would fail to express our true sentiments were we not to refer to some of those personal qualities for which you are distinguished. Intellectual power alone will not attract and retain a political following. You combine with it a rare faculty of winning the confidence and regard of all with whom you come in contact. No one can say that you refuse to give weight either to the advice of friends or to the arguments of opponents. Without abandoning your own convictions you can take a broad and statesmanlike view of contrary opinions, and even honest prejudices receive from you a generous toleration.

You are about to appeal, for the third time, to the people who make and unmake their rulers in this free country. Your first appeal was successful; in your second a still greater measure of public confidence was given to you; and in the recent bye-elections there was undoubted evidence that this confidence is increasing.

In the approaching general election you may rely upon a united and enthusiastic support from the entire Liberal party, and there is much to indicate that there are numbers in every constituency who will rise superior to party ties and still assist in retaining you in power.

That you may be long spared to direct the affairs of your native Province, and that health and happiness may attend you, are the heartfelt wishes of the Reform Convention of 1883.

WHY MUST MOWAT "GO?"

Mr. ROSS—"The cry has gone forth from the Opposition camp that Mowat must go; but I believe that the thoughtful, sober minded electors of Ontario will be inclined, as I am, to enquire Why must Mowat go? Is it because of the financial administration of his Government? I ask the electors of this Province to consider the fact that they have still a surplus of five million dollars in the Treasury, after millions of dollars have been expended on railways, on schools, on public institutions, on public works, and on colonization roads. I ask them to consider another fact—and that is, that the suspicion of scandal has not attached to the expenditure of a single dollar of that money. (Cheers.) In face of these facts are you willing that Mowat shall go? (Cries of "No, no.") I believe the electors of Ontario will answer "No."

"Is it, then, because of the legislation which the Mowat Government has passed that it 'must go?' The answer is, that in almost every matter of importance affecting the welfare of the people the Government has legislated wisely and well. It has placed on the statute book measures regarding municipal institutions, public schools, drainage, public institutions, law and equity. And when the question is asked, 'What amendments have the Opposition proposed to that legislation?' The answer is 'None.' Is this a record which would justify you in seconding the cry that 'Mowat must go?'"

"Another question will occur to the electors, and that is, if Mowat must go, whom are you going to put in his place? Is it Mr. Oscar Wilde Morris? That would be too utterly utter! (Laughter.) Mr. William Rightabout Meredith? That would hardly do, for without reference to the intellectual capacity of these gentlemen, I believe the people of Ontario want men to govern them who are in accord with their own sentiments, and the ruling sentiment in Ontario at this juncture is that Provincial rights must be maintained." (Cheers.)—George W. Ross, M.P., at the Liberal Convention.

" WILL KNOW THE REASON WHY "

Mr. BLAKE—"I rejoice to know that the call of our friend who has just addressed you (Mr. Mowat) has been answered in such a spirit, and that from all quarters of this Province—from points hundreds of miles distant—men have come to take part in the deliberations of this body. It is all the more honour to him, because they are representative men—the leaders of the thought of their party—and they have come together at an important juncture in the affairs of their Province. This gathering reminds me of what happened many years ago in a county in old England, when there were more arbitrary times than now, and when the conduct of a leading man demanded, not that he 'must go,' but that he must die. Then the cry of the Cornish men was :

" And shall Trelawny die ?
And shall Trelawny die ?
Then thirty thousand Cornish men
Shall know the reason why." (Applause.)

And so does the Reform party of Ontario answer the insulting taunt that 'Mowat must go !'—*Hon. Edward Blake at the Liberal Convention.*

A GOVERNMENT FOR THE PEOPLE.

Mr. RYAN—"The *Mail* has started the cry that 'Mowat must go'—(laughter)—and the cry has been echoed by the minor Tory leaders in the press and on the platform, but this magnificent gathering is an answer to that cry—an answer so emphatic, so unmistakable, that it will carry consternation into the ranks of the enemy, and foreshadow the result of the contest upon which we will shortly enter. (Cheers.) I am aware, and so is everyone present who knows anything of the history of public affairs in this Province, that the present Administration is one that deserves the fullest confidence of those for whom it was formed—the democracy of this country.

"I believe I am tolerably familiar with the affairs of those countries of the world that are constitutionally governed, and I doubt if there can be found anywhere a Government which more fully and more deservedly possesses the confidence of the sovereign body—the people—than does the Government of the Honorable Oliver Mowat. (Loud cheers.)

"Questions of great pith and moment are now before the people of this Province ; and I feel persuaded that the electors will give no uncertain sound as to their appreciation of a Government against whom no breath of scandal has been uttered, against whom not the slightest charge of jobbery or corruption has been brought, and from whose supporters there has never gone forth any such cry as 'Send me another ten thousand.'—(Loud cheers.)—*Ald. Peter Ryan at the Liberal Convention.*

PREPARE FOR THE CONTEST.

Mr. MOWAT—"We have been discussing the great questions at issue in this country just now ; they have been set before you over and over again ; your minds are full of them. You see that your Province is in danger ; that its territory is in danger ; that its constitutional and legislative rights are in danger, and the Government in which you believe is also attacked. The Ontario Government, in which you are expressing a feeling of confidence that is grateful to us, which places us under obligations to you—has no power at all except the power which you give us. (Cheers.) You are the representatives here in a very special sense of the Province of Ontario, of every part of it. You are strong men, every one of you, in your

own localities. Every one of you can do mighty work in the approaching elections, and I call upon you to do that work. (Loud cheers, and cries of 'We will.')

"It is the old battle, affecting the most important interests of the country. You are the soldiers in that battle, and I call on you to stand firm. (Cheers.) Every man of you has a duty to perform, and let everyone feel it to be his duty from this time until election day to do all that man can for the object we have in view, viz., to secure those rights which your love for your country makes you anxious about now. (Hear, hear.) Whatever you can do, it is the bounden duty of every man of you to do it, and I know that you will. (Cheers.)

"Kind words with regard to myself have been said from this platform and expressed in the resolutions, while kinder sounds still I have heard from this audience. They have excited the most grateful feelings in my mind and in the minds of my colleagues. You have placed upon us a fresh obligation, a greatly increased obligation to do our duty. It now remains for you to do yours—(cheers)—and Reformers when they see their duty have never yet failed to perform it.

"In an ordinary election it is quite sufficient that you should return the Government of your choice by a majority that will enable them to carry their measures; but the present contest is one of a peculiar character. It is the Dominica against Ontario, and your objects cannot be accomplished unless you give us a large amount of moral strength in the contest. We want not merely a majority of votes in the Assembly, but that moral strength which the general voice of the people, which a large majority gives, and which it alone gives.

"Wherever you now have a Reform member, you must swell his majority at the next election. (Cheers.) Where you have a close constituency which is now represented by a Reformer, you must see to it that it shall be represented by a Reformer after the next election. (Cheers.) You must make the victory still more significant by taking care that in others of the constituencies in which the enemy think themselves secure, Reformers shall be elected in the approaching contest. (Cheers.) Do all that and Ontario is safe. (Loud cheers.) Her territory is safe. Her legislative rights are safe, and the battles of former days will not have to be fought over again. (Cheers.) And then personally to myself is another consideration, viz., that it will make it quite sure that Mowat will not 'go!'—(Tremendous and long-continued cheering.)—HON. MR. MOWAT'S CONCLUDING WORDS AT THE GREAT CONVENTION.

Our space in this pamphlet will permit of but a short resumé of the undoubted facts sustaining the unanswerable positions taken up in a few of the remaining resolutions. That we now proceed to give:

4.—THE FEDERAL UNION.

The Federal Union of the Provinces was the result of Reform agitation carried on for many years against a system under which Upper Canada was ruled by a Lower Canadian majority, aided by a minority in this Province. Local self-government was the end and aim of Confederation; without it the federal system would never have been adopted and could never have been carried out. The charge that the Reform party are the enemies of the Union is untrue in itself and untrue to our history. Its enemies are those who seek to wrest from the provinces that full control in local matters which the Confederation Act conferred upon them, and without which they would never have entered the Union.

6. THE LEGISLATIVE RECORD.

Mr. Mowat's ever present desire that justice should be administered cheaply and efficiently naturally made him, on re-entering public life in 1872, a law reformer. His experience at the Bar and on the Bench enabled him to become a law reformer of the most thorough type. Wherever the law was weak he strengthened it; wherever it was unjust he amended it. Besides the voluminous public and private acts passed by him the great work of revising the Statutes of Ontario was accomplished in 1877, while in 1881 he succeeded perfectly in his self-imposed task of revolutionizing the Superior Courts, simplifying the practice, shortening the procedure, and lightening the cost of litigation. His legislation has been fair to all alike. He has known no race, creed, or colour. He has striven to elevate the condition of his fellow-men, and secure to them all the privileges of citizenship. His career as a hard-working Attorney-General and law reformer is without parallel on this continent.

8. THE PROVINCIAL FINANCES.

These are in a most healthy condition. During the last eleven years not only has the Government carried out on its regular legislative and executive functions, but it has distributed to the people over \$25,000,000. To assist the education of the people it has given \$4,344,558.08; to assist the counties to administer justice it has given \$1,397,050.76; to assist the vicious and afflicted which otherwise would have been cared for by private or municipal benevolence, it has contributed \$4,481,602.94; whilst to build the institutions in which to accommodate them it has spent \$2,836,838.01. To encourage the great agricultural industry there has been spent \$1,063,794.22, and in adding half a million acres to the Province there has been used \$639,402.07. In building roads opening up the newer lands there has been spent \$1,079,211.34; and in getting settlers to fill them there has been used \$725,030.44. To wipe out a Municipal Loan Debt of \$12,000,000, some \$3,389,828.84 was paid the unindebted municipalities toward building roads, gaols, schools and hundreds of other local improvements; and in assisting the building of 26 railways extending like a network through the Province, there has been distributed \$3,362,970.57.

And yet there is a surplus of \$4,825,586 in the Treasury. And no charge of corruption has yet been made in the vast expenditure of all these moneys. All has been spent wisely, judiciously and economically. There is no other Province in the Dominion, and no State in the American Union, that can show so grand a record in its financial department.

12. TIMBER INTERESTS.

These interests have been managed with great skill and great integrity.

During the last ten years there have been sold of the public lands 774,033 acres, or an average of over 77,000 acres per annum. During the same time there have been issued 3,830 timber licenses, covering 15,612 square miles, and the annual average of some 2,506 saw-log and square timber returns have been received and checked. And the timber limits have always been sold by public auction after the utmost publicity had been given to the intended sale. Compare this with the action taken by the Dominion Government, who not long ago sold a valuable timber limit in the disputed territory at a nominal rate per square mile, which afterwards changed hands at \$250,000! Or with that of the Conservative party in the old Province of Canada, who, when in power, placed under license no less than 13,000 square miles for the paltry sum of \$52,000! The present Government have placed under license only about 7,305 square miles of territory, but for this they have received the large sum of \$1,530,725.

16. THE LIQUOR LICENSE SYSTEM.

Before 1875 the power of granting liquor licenses was in the hands of the municipal councils. In that year the Legislature, in obedience to the unanimous voice of public opinion, shown by thousands of petitions from all classes of the community, even from the licensed victuallers, took the power into their own hands, and passed the Crooks Act. The councils were glad to get rid of the trouble. Not one of them has asked for its return.

Under the Crooks Act the number of licenses has been reduced to nearly one-half the number issued prior to its adoption in 1876. The hours of sale have been restricted. Illicit selling has been suppressed. Taverns have greatly improved. Law-breaking licensees have been weeded out. The morals of the community have been elevated. Every attack upon the Act has been met. Every charge brought against the Commissioners and Inspectors has, on investigation, proved to be a slander. The threat that the Dominion authorities would wrest the administration of the license law from Ontario has provoked a storm of opposition from the best quarters. Ministerial bodies have solemnly denounced it. Temperance organizations have formally pledged themselves to resist any encroachment of the Dominion Government. They all say the Act is the best ever devised for licensing the traffic. They know it is efficient. They are convinced it is cheaper to administer than the old Act was, and yet the revenue derived by municipalities is as great with the present licenses as it was with almost twice as many issued under the old law. The Crooks Act is sound in principle. It promotes temperance, law, and order; and every friend of temperance, law, and order, should be ready with voice and vote to preserve it intact against the assaults of all enemies.

17. THE RECORD AND THE PLATFORM.

This resolution sums up the whole matter. It sets forth Mr. Mowat's past record and the platform of the Liberal party to-day. Each clause in the history of a reform accomplished, and the enunciation of a principle to be maintained and carried out. It is for the electors to decide whether or not Mr. Mowat shall continue this record, and give further effect in the future to the principles he has so zealously maintained in the past.